

WORKERS of the WORLD UNITE THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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The Passing Show.

The capitalist is a man who dams the river of progress that he may bring the water to his own mill.

Don't wait for capitalism to commit suicide, help to kill it.

The ballots of the workers would be more deadly than the bullets of the shirkers did they but know how to use them.

The war has now lasted eight months, and the general verdict is—criminal. It will soon be time to jug the criminals who promoted it.

The rich man doesn't mind it being hard for him to enter the kingdom of heaven so long as it is easy for him to run the earth.

This is said to be an actual inscription over a gravestone in Ardenne: "Eight German soldiers, three French. On earth, enemies; in heaven, friends." "Thou shalt not kill" doesn't apply to this world, but to the next.

Under capitalism the exploiters of labor have to go gunning for foreign markets to get rid of their surplus products. Make people who want things at home able to buy them and there will be no need to fight for foreign markets.

Money put into socialist literature is a good investment for the worker. He commences to draw interest at once, and his children benefit from his investment long after his death.

A big Sydney charity busted the other day, and the organiser was sent to jail for frauds extending over many years. Most of the cash he received went to the bookies. In France, 75 out of 150 charities were declared bogus recently.

Philadelphia is receiving Billy Sunday's message enthusiastically. The city promises to be the most pious in the world in the near future. Already 92 per cent. of all its weights and measures are fraudulent.

Ford, the American motor-car builder, pays a minimum wage of £1 a day. He says any business properly conducted could do the same. That is what Socialists say, though neither the average worker nor the average master will believe it.

Sand in our sugar, water in our milk, chalk and alum in our bread, pea shells in our coffee, glucose in our honey, oleomargarine in our butter, tomato seed in our jam, competition for markets, war between nations, countries in pawn, buncombe for legislation, unemployment of workmen, prostitution of women, starvation of children—these are a few of the things capitalism has done. Yet some people are wanting more of it.

When the first Napoleon loomed large on the European stage, many pious people wrote to the London "Times" to prove that he was the "beast" mentioned in Revelation. The descendants of these people are now endeavoring to prove that the Kaiser is the "beast." History thus repeats itself—with variations. It is pleasing to note that the "Times" pokes fun at such efforts to-day, whereas, a hundred years ago they were regarded with much solemnity.

Several English writers have been pointing out that German territorial ambitions have been furthered by the agency of missionaries. This is no doubt true enough. Foreign missionaries are always in league with their oppressive governments. British missionaries act differently, and are so high-souled that they neglect every consideration other than the good of the poor heathen. If it were not that the British Empire is specially cared for by divine providence it would certainly get left. Providence, however, sees to it that the British Empire loses nothing by its "sacred trust" and "ancient faith."



A Message From Mars.

Much unemployment is probable (after the war). Money wages are likely to be lower and cost of living higher. Some Rothschild fortunes may emerge, but wage earners will very likely be thrust down to a decidedly lower level.

They may then listen to the Socialists and abjure war, the burdens of which usually fall crushingly on their shoulders. When the heroes return home and examine their situation there may be some dynamic thinking.—Saturday Evening Post.

THE CAPITALIST: "But, my dear sir, Socialism means robbery, class hatred, the destruction of the home, the bursting—"

THE MESSENGER: "Then this is Socialism."

In a general sense, the views men entertain depend upon what they do for a living.

Whenever you see a wealthy person making large donations to charity, you may be sure that he is getting what he gives easily.

The submarine penetrates the battleship below the waterline and sinks it. The International penetrates the mind above the prejudice line and raises it.

Truth is an outcast, but the Lie puts up at the best hotels, fares sumptuously, and is clad in purple and fine linen.

Webster's Dictionary says: "Socialism is a more precise and orderly arrangement of the social affairs of mankind than has hitherto prevailed." A terror, isn't it?

Like everything else, crime is a necessary consequence of previous causes. Society punishes crime while leaving the causes to operate.

In a recent issue of the London "Times," the obituary column included eighteen persons aged seventy and upwards, and nine aged ninety and over. The average was nearly three times that of wage-slaves. It is needless to say that the long-livers were not wage-slaves. They belonged to the class which lives easy and dies full of years and piety.

"The vain crowd wandering blindly, led by lies."—Lucretius.

This line of the ancient poet was never more truly exemplified than it has been during the present war. As soon as the war broke out, hundreds of writers started to show that militarism in Europe, and ultimately the war itself, were due to the decline of religious faith and the growth of materialism and scepticism. The "vain crowds wandering blindly" are led by the lies of such writers despite the fact that the German Kaiser, the Russian Czar, the Australian Emperor, and the Kings of Belgium and England are ostentatiously religious. They are all sure that God is with them, and presumably, would not have gone to war had they believed otherwise.

On the other hand, the most ardent workers for peace for many years past have been sceptics and materialists. All over the world they represented a force that made for peace, and if they were powerless to prevent war, that is nothing to their discredit. As the world stands to-day, the power to preserve peace or make war rests with Christians and not with the opponents of religion. If the Christians had really been in favor of peace, and the rest in favor of war, there would have been no war. The conversion of "the vain crowd wandering blindly, led by lies" is more urgently needed than ever.

War pictures are very popular at all the picture shows now that the war is in full swing, but very few of the vast numbers who pay to see such productions are aware that the pictures are faked. For profit the capitalist has adulterated all food, clothing, and literature for the masses, and his latest achievement is to adulterate what is presented to the eye of the beholder so that he may lodge untruth in his mind. In this connection a cinema prospectus affords interesting reading. The prospects of profit are being presented to the capitalist to induce him to take up shares, and one paragraph is particularly enlightening.

"Few people outside of the trade are aware that nearly all war pictures are 'faked' or manufactured by capable cinema actors with appropriate stage settings. The cost under efficient management is very small, and particularly so at the present moment when so many actors are out of employ. The profits of film production are simply enormous. . . . The demand is continuous, as each theatre must have fresh pictures every few days to attract patronage. . . . The average picture film costs about 9d. per running foot to produce, and is hired out to theatres at 2d. per foot for three consecutive days, so that in a fortnight the initial outlay is already secured."

Our masters' patriotism is well illustrated in the above, as is also his keen desire to cater for the instruction and amusement of the jaded worker—at a profit.

GOULBURN, Friday.—A local man had in contemplation the erection of 16 cottages at an average cost of £500. Plans had been prepared, and the preliminaries well advanced, but the possibility of a Fair Rents Bill being passed on the lines suggested in Labor circles, has caused him to abandon his project.

One effect of this decision will be the closing down of a brick kiln. The investor now thinks of taking his money to another State, where there is less interference. A large number of tradesmen had been looking to this enterprise to give them employment.—"Sydney Daily Telegraph" (1/5/15).

Is it not a shame that such a philanthropic gentleman should be threatened with a Fair Rents Bill? And to think that a large number of tradesmen, who had been looking to this promising scheme of perpetual exploitation for a job should be disappointed and have their hopes blighted, is saddening. And the investor is thinking of taking his money to another State, where there is less interference! Probably the poor man will find that other States are also threatening him. The big fellows who are taking charge of the world's financial affairs don't want small fellows such as he is living on the game, so we may expect them to be legislated against and ultimately placed in the ranks of the proletariat.

The quantity of tea sent into Germany from Holland during September and October, 1913, was 1,028,356 lbs. During the same months in 1914 the amount was 16,328,464 lbs. The exports of cocoa from Holland to Germany for October, 1913, were 1,038,400 lbs., in 1914, 7,581,200 lbs. Certain ill-disposed persons have suggested that these figures indicate that British tea and cocoa dealers have been shipping their commodities to Holland as the best way of getting them into Germany and making a profit. The patriotic dealers have vigorously denied the soft impeachment, but the British Government has been compelled to prohibit the exportation of tea. So it looks as if there was something in it.

Commenting on the report of the Inter-State Commission recently in Victoria, Mr. Hagelthorn, Minister for Public Works, said, "That so responsible a body as the Inter-State Commission should have drawn attention to complaints regarding one aspect of inefficiency, 'slowing down,' is another indication of the growing importance with which national efficiency is being regarded. If Victoria, as one of the chief manufacturing States, is to free herself from the suggestion of reproach in respect to national efficiency, she will have to pull herself together."

It looks as if the advocates of the "go slow" policy are going to see some early realisation of their hopes. What is known as "national inefficiency" is already troubling the profit-hunter who is bursting with a patriotic desire to supply foreign markets with commodities. When all producers go slow, the effect will be similar to that of a drought—the general production will be lessened, and the cost of living sent up. Until capitalism is abolished, the workers cannot injure their masters without injuring themselves. This is one of the beauties of the system.

Sir Hiram S. Maxim, the inventor of the Maxim gun, has published his memoirs. He shows that he didn't achieve much distinction or make much cash while he confined himself to inventing useful things, but when he invented his famous machine gun, which vastly increased the possibilities of the destruction of human life, he at once became interesting to all the crowned heads and statesmen of every country. He sold his gun to every European country, and in the present war Germany and Austria brought immense numbers of the quick firer into action against the British and their Allies. The flower of British manhood is thus being mowed down by the invention of one of their own countrymen.

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I will destroy the order of things that turns millions into the slaves of the few, and these few into the slaves of their own might, their own riches.
—WAGNER.

One Big Union.

Some Difficulties of Realisation.

The Latest Gilded Pill.

In another column of this issue is printed an editorial from the Sydney Truth which effectively exposes the "Spurious Socialism" of the so-called Labor Party. In that article, the writer points out how the opportunists of the party have seized the name of Socialism, now that it has been popularised by men not on the make, and are converting it to their own use. It is shown that these spurious Socialists have as their objective not real Socialism but a Bureaucracy in which the condition of the workers will in no way be improved. The article should be carefully read by every reader of this paper and remembered with many that have appeared in these columns in times gone by.

The Labor Party in seizing the name of Socialism is being powerfully assisted by the daily press, which always obligingly refers to the Labor Party as the "Socialist Party." This serves the double purpose of scaring the exploiters against the bureaucrats of Labor and befogging the workers as to the objects and tactics of Socialists.

Latterly, the bureaucrats of the Labor Party have realised that there was something lacking in their outfit, and on carefully examining the situation, they found that they were neglecting something else that the Socialists had been advocating and popularising for a long time. That something they discovered to be Industrial Unionism.

This discovery led to the manufacture of another gilded pill—the One Big Union. Directly the party leaders made this historic discovery, the party organs took up the cry that craft unionism is played out and only One Big Union on the Industrial field will suffice to complete the party's make up.

No doubt economic forces have had a good deal to do with the party leaders' discovery. On the Industrial field, the workers have been steadily losing ground. On the Industrial field they have not been fighting as a class. Being all sellers of the one commodity, labor-power, they are rivals, not allies. They struggle there against one-another whether singly or in bodies, and often their interests are wrapt up with those of their masters. As it generally does with sellers of any commodity, competition forced combination, and the craft unions made efforts to support one-another in enhancing the price of their commodity. In these attempts they mostly failed, because a victory for one was a defeat for another. The politicians failed to help them, and even helped their masters.

The Trade Unions of Germany

During the War.

(By KARL LEGIEN.)

Like the Labor organisations of all countries, the fearful misfortune of the world-war took the Trade Unions of Germany completely by surprise. In the last few days before the outbreak of the war, the organised workers arranged great demonstrations for the preservation of peace. Their influence was not strong enough to save the working class and the nations from the frightful world conflagration, of which for almost six months we have been the witness. Other factors were decisive. The Labor Movement stood before an accomplished fact. When the German Reichstag met on August 4th, 1914, the warring armies were already in conflict with each other at the boundaries.

The fear that with the declaration of war the labor organisations would be disbanded, press and meetings suppressed, was happily not realised. The Trade Unions in Conference on August 2nd, had made preparations for such an event. Precisely the opposite of what was expected, occurred, and at present there is hardly room for fear that a destruction of organised trade union effort could take place.

Not that the trade unions have changed their views and tendencies. They remain true to their principles—they have devoted themselves during the war to the same duties which they sought to fulfill among the nations during peace, the maintenance of the best possible standard of life for the working class and the assistance of members in need.

It is not the business of the Trades Unions in Germany to give a decision on general political questions. That is the work of the Social Democratic Party, to which belongs, as is well known, the great majority of Trade Unionists. No attitude has been formulated by the Trade Union organisations as to the question of the granting of the war loan and of the tactics pursued by the preponderant majority of the Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag. The Trade Union press cannot, of course, let these things pass by in silence. With a few exceptions which hardly come into consideration, the Trade Union press of Germany approved the attitude of the Social Democratic Party in the matter of the war loan. The thought dominating the Trade Union press is that the fact of the world-war can not be altered. Although we are international and shall remain so in spite of everything which has occurred during the past few months, we recognise that an effective international organisation is only possible if the constituent nations are themselves strong and powerfully developed. To create the possibility of such development is not the duty of other nations but can only be attained through the working-class in its own country. A defeat of Germany in the present struggle would greatly reduce this possibility of development, on which account the working class of Germany must seek to prevent such an issue.

The right which the organised workers of Germany claim for themselves they concede naturally to the workers of all other countries. If the Trade Union press of Germany has criticised the actions and utterances of the Trade Unions and the Labor Press of other countries, it has only done so when these have behaved as though the German working class, since the outbreak of war, had fallen into the deepest barbarism, or when the wish and the will have been expressed to so crush Germany that its trade and economic life should be completely destroyed. Thought even approaching this, as

Naturally, then, the cry arose for One Big Union. The One Big Union is to cure all. But the One Big Union presupposes a good deal. Under Capitalism there will still be the unemployed. There will still be caste, religious and economic superstitions, due to the ignorance of the mass. Imperialism and the struggle for foreign markets obsess the mind of the ordinary unionist, making him difficult material to weld into One Big Union.

On the Industrial field, the workers under Capitalism have to compete as job-hunters, as sellers of labor-power. Any attempt to achieve success in this direction will be counterbalanced by a consequent rise in prices. The money wage might be increased but the real wage would remain the same.

What the Labor Party does not realise is that the struggle is a class struggle, and that it is impossible for its leaders to represent all classes. Through its failure to recognise this, the Labor Party has failed to justify its existence. It has been defeated on the political field, and defeat is inevitable on the industrial field. Had it been a real Socialist Party it would have taught the workers to organise on class lines both politically and industrially.

When you have finished with this paper pass it on to a friend

concerning the other nations, is not to be found in the Labor Press of Germany. It is bad enough that our comrades in Labor must face one another on the battle-field, fearful to think that many who have given their best to unite the working class internationally must now shed their blood in this way to create the appearance that an irremovable hatred must permanently separate the nations, cannot lead to good. We shall be just as dependent upon one another after the war as we were before. This thought receives expression in the articles in the Trade Union papers which are concerned with the attitude of the Labor Movement to the war.

Such was the understanding among the Trade Unions themselves, for no explanations about the matter have been necessary. Our organisations saw their first duty in the relief of the need which the war must inevitably bring among large sections of the population. Fortunately, that which was feared by many representatives of the Trade Unions has not occurred. The economic life of Germany has not collapsed. Such a collapse would have involved a complete disruption of the Trade Union organisations. The workers in the export industry were severely hit during the first few weeks of the war. An apprehensive fear led most of the employers to close down their industries. The Trade Unions in these branches of industry were menaced by the danger of complete bankruptcy through relief of the unemployed. These, and at the same time most other Trade Unions, found themselves obliged to suspend the statutory provisions for relief and devote their whole financial strength to the relief of the unemployed. In order to be able to do this as long as possible the amount of relief in many organisations was reduced. Others again granted relief to the wives of members called up to military service, although this, obviously, was not provided for in the rules. The Trade Unions most severely hit received support for some weeks from other trade union funds, so that they would be able to continue their activity. I will not quote here the amount spent on relief work by the Trade Unions during the war, so as not to give the impression of boasting. Those who are interested will find the figures in the German Trade Union press in the reports as to the position of the Trade Unions.

In a relatively short time the economic life of Germany began to recover and unemployment decreased accordingly. The dreadfully high unemployment among the Trade Union members during the first few weeks of the war declined considerably. At the beginning of September 21.2 per cent of the Trade Union members were unemployed, while on October 31 there were only 10.7 per cent. According to the official statistics 8.3 per cent of the members were unemployed in November. A further enquiry on the side of the Trade Unions will take place at the end of January. In judging these figures it must be borne in mind that 661,005 Trade Union members were called to the flag up to 31st, of October, 1914. In the meantime the number has been considerably increased.

If among the members of the Trade Unions the most pressing needs could be met, the unorganised workers presented a sad spectacle. It is owing to the continuous pressure of the Trade Unions that many Municipalities have undertaken measures of relief for them. What for a long time had been regarded as impossible in Germany has been realised in the course of a few weeks. Other social measures which the Trade Unions had for years demanded in vain, have been carried into effect. For this work the assistance of the Trade Unions was sought by the Government, and they readily placed their forces at the service of the general welfare. A few months ago our organisations were regarded as an alien body in economic life. To-day the value of these unions is appreciated.

Certainly everybody would have desired that this recognition should have proceeded from other causes than those now before us. It would have happened in spite of every obstacle. The enormous sacrifice of life and property make it more than difficult to find satisfaction, much less joy, in the social progress which has taken place in Germany.

NOTE: Mr. Carl Legien represents the Kiel District in the German Reichstag. He is President of the German Federation of Trade Unions, the largest national trade union organisation in existence (2,600,000 members on July 1st, 1914) and of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the latter embracing more than seven million trade unionists in over 20 countries A.K.

"Tracts are usually forbidding or threatening in titles. We have heard of one given to a child with the title, 'Mother, is Father a Goat?'—The Times, (London.)

A favorite hunting-ground of the tract distributor is a hospital when he or she is armed with a doped head, "Prepare to Meet Thy God," or "Beware of the Wrath of Come." This sort of thing is supposed to be very comforting to patients nearing the end.

Spurious Socialism.

BUREAUCRATIC PRUSSIANISM VERSUS SOCIAL OWNERSHIP.

In another column, is a letter from a member of the New Zealand Legislature containing some remarks upon an article that we published upon the form of Bureaucracy in New South Wales that some persons have called "Labor Socialism," or "State Socialism." In that article, we pointed out that the representative and famous Socialists were not believers in the mere handing over of industries to State departments. There is abundant evidence of this in the writings of Frederick Engels (the life-long friend of Karl Marx), who in his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," laughs at those who would term Prussian State ownership of railways, and other enterprises, Socialism. All the great Socialists aimed at the abolition of "the State" as we commonly understand the word, and the substitution for that State of a society organised (loosely or otherwise) in industrial departments. Of late, some German Socialists have grown exceedingly enthusiastic about mere State ownership; but this is simply Prussianism: it is not Socialism.

Our article was not a denial of the fact that Bureaucracy can be made to "pay." We had not, and have not, the slightest doubt that competent persons could make it "pay." What we said was that Bureaucracy, according to the most eminent of the Socialists, was not Socialism. Socialism is co-operation embracing the whole of society. Its fundamental basis is that the individual shall work for society and not for a "boss," whether a Bureaucrat or a private capitalist. Socialists, from Owen to Marx, always asserted this. Although Blanc and Blanqui and Marx and Lassalle believed that it was necessary to capture political power, they did not desire to establish a Bureaucracy. They did believe in a temporary dictatorship by the "proletariat," but it was with a view to the wiping out of the existing State, and the reconstruction of society upon the basis of universal industrial co-operation.

The Socialists, unlike some of the superficial Laborists and "Boddletin" bleaters, never alleged that the Post Office, for instance, was Socialism—either of the "State" or of any other variety. It was referred to merely as proof of the fact that a great enterprise could be carried on without the intervention of the private capitalist. A state of society, however, in which the worker could not find employment except that which his "influence" might enable him to obtain in some Government Department or other would not be a state of happiness, or even freedom. Neither would it be one of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," nor even of Justice. New Zealand is rather far from Australia. Our correspondent's statements as to the complete success of so-called "State Socialism" in New Zealand might be disapproved by many New Zealanders. New Zealand was once referred to as "a land without strikes." It would require much "hide" to make such an assertion, now, about New Zealand, in view of the facts.

As to the various State enterprises that have been started on borrowed money in New Zealand, they differ very little from enterprises run upon ordinary capitalistic lines, and financed with the money of capitalists who live in England. Where is the "Socialism" in that? If the worker has to carry a fat capitalist on his back it does not matter much to him whether he (the working employee) is employed by a joint stock company or by the State. Indeed, if he has to maintain the capitalist, it would be better for him to maintain one in the worker's own country than to maintain one abroad. The local capitalist expends, in the employment of local labor, the profit that he gets from the productive worker; but the capitalist who lives in another country expends among the people of that country the money that he gets from his "overseas" debtors. New Zealand and Australia are heavily in debt to the capitalists of England. They pay over to creditors abroad far more than acent Rome ever exacted as tribute from a conquered people. Is there "Socialism" in that? Is the fact that the capitalist who finances an Australasian industry is called a British debenture-holder any more consoling to the sweated wage-earner in that industry than it would be if the capitalist were called an Australian shareholder?

It is not necessary to go to New Zealand in order to find examples of Bureaucracy; for those examples do not differ materially from those which we have in this country. As to whether the Bureaucratic enterprises in New Zealand are so admirable as they are represented to be, it would be well to hear what New Zealand employees in those industries have to say about them. There are plenty of persons—particularly politicians—who tell us

that our Bureaucratic enterprises here are perfect; but this is not what is said by the employees in these industries, nor by the tax-payers who have to make up financial deficiencies resulting from these glorious examples of so-called "State Socialism" being mismanaged.

Take, for instance, the Postmaster-General's Department. This is under the control of Labor politician W. G. Spence, who receives a salary of £1650 a year. Beneath him—nominally beneath him—is a "secretary," who receives £1000 a year. Below the secretary are various clerks whose salaries taper down from £600 to £260 a year. There is a Chief Electrical Engineer whose salary is £900 a year, and other engineers whose salaries run from £468 down to £240 a year. In each of the States is a "Deputy Postmaster-General" who is paid from £850 to £550 a year. As to the ordinary sweated postal employee, we dealt with his treatment in a series of articles. We showed that the sweating in the Postal Department was atrocious, so much so as to endanger human life.

As for all the talk about the virtues of Government banking, we used to hear plenty of this before the establishment of the Commonwealth Bank, which, we were told, was going to extinguish the private banks. The way it did this was to lend most of its money to those private banks; and, as a matter of fact, it does not cause the private banker to turn a hair. It would be, of course, quite possible to have a great national bank here; there is a much more powerful Federal Government bank in Argentina than that which we have in Australia—but, even if it were to wipe out all the private banks, there is no certainty that it would treat its employees any better than the employees in the Postmaster-General's Department. Piecemeal so-called State Socialism is no adequate substitute for true Socialism. It is Bureaucracy; and Bureaucratic politicians who try to commend it to the workers by calling it Socialism are only unjustifiably trading upon a reputation built up for an economic creed by men who were not "on the make," but who conceived an ideal that has, so far as its name is concerned (and, apparently, its name only) at last becomes popular.

It may be that in some respects, Bureaucracy—especially if it were run without borrowed money—would be an improvement upon private enterprise; but it is not just to the Socialists to allege that mere Bureaucracy is Socialism. Socialists—from Plato to More, from More to Owen, from Owen to Marx, from Marx to Morris, from Morris to Kautsky, and from Kautsky to Sorel—have always advocated something preferable to a state of things such as exists in every country where well-paid clubmen who are called permanent "civil" servants control a department of State activity, while the ordinary man or woman has the inestimable privilege of toiling for those quite superior Bureaucrats at a wage of £2 (in the case of clerks £1, apparently) or £3 a week. This was not the ideal of the noble-minded men and women who by their self-sacrifice, high talent, and courageous persistence, made Socialism a name for tricky politicians to conjure with profitably.—"Truth."

Faith is indispensable to man, but only in what others know not in what they believe.

Thinking itself has become a special trade in these days of divisional labor, and it has fallen into the worst hands, those of our newspaper writers. The people should not acquiesce in this appropriation any longer, and not submit any more to harangues of public opinion, but assume thinking for themselves.

We may leave certain objects of scientific research to professionals, but general thought is a public matter which anyone should be required to attend to himself.

The human mind is influenced in all its products by the entire world outside of it. And thus the mind is seen to be a part of nature, and the science of the mind becomes a natural science. The impressions of the outer world determine the experience of man, his outer wants determine his will, and his general wants his moral will. The world around him determines man's wants and impressions, but these, on the other hand, determine his will and activity by which he changes the world; this well directed activity appears in the process of social production.

In this manner man by his work is a part, a link, in the great chain of natural and social development.

DIETZEN.

It is said that up to the end of December last, there were over 500 publications issued in Britain dealing with the war. Since then they have been coming more rapidly. If the British can stand all this, the Germans have no hope of terrifying the race with machine guns and Zeppelins. They had better throw in the towel.

Socialism: The Goal of Civilization.

MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

By REV. CHAS. H. VAIL.

The middle class reads its own doom in the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. It is nearing the breakers. The field of production is already nearly closed, and the men of means, having nowhere else to invest their increasing wealth, are now beginning to invade the field of distribution, and the small store will, in a few years, be as scarce as the small factory is now.

Let us not be deceived by statistics here. There was an apparent growth of the middle class from 1880 to 1890; a growth in quantity, but a decrease in quality. Those entering the mercantile middle class were not attracted there by any enlargement of its field of opportunities; they were driven there by the closing up of other avenues of employment and enter only to feed the fire of bankruptcy. Driven from the field of production, they enter the mercantile body only as a halting place on their way to commercial death. This very phenomenon is a symptom of the approaching collapse. As before pointed out, concentration in this field has been delayed but the time has now come when it will go forward with alacrity as the other fields for investment are being closed. The statistics of 1900 will undoubtedly show a rapid decrease in the number of the middle class. Is it any wonder, then, that the middle class should raise a cry of protest against this concentration when it sees its special privileges vanishing before the approaching trustification of industry?

Its protest, however, is not in behalf of the laboring class, but in behalf of its own existence. Its cry is not against the exploiting system of production, but against the new capitalism, represented by plutocracy, becoming the sole exploiter. The middle class does not object to some riding on the backs of others, it only objects to being the party ridden. The old capitalism cries out against the new, because it feels the iron heel of capitalistic oppression.

Their opposition to progress, however, is about as futile as the opposition of the laborers to the introduction of new machinery. The laborers were blind to the benefits of machinery because they saw in it only an instrument of oppression, and their strength was wasted in an endeavor to force a return to the Handicraft Stage of production. The same is true to-day of the middle class. They are bending their energies toward the dissolution of the trust system, not realizing that the trust is a natural product of industrial evolution. The solution of the problem for both the laboring class and the middle class is not in endeavoring to destroy machinery and the trust, but in their collective ownership and control.

The laboring class need clearly to understand that this outcry against the trust does not imply a betterment of labor conditions. It does not need the independence of the labourer. The tools of production to-day are social, and can only be operated by co-operative labor. This fact precludes the possibility of individual ownership of the tools by the laborers. To destroy the trust, then, does not mean that the laborers can become owners of the tools necessary to their labor; it only means that these instruments of production can be owned by smaller combinations of capital. The laboring class would still be absolutely dependent upon the owners of the instruments of production. The only difference is, that if the program of trust smashing was carried out the number of fencers of labor would be larger than under the trust program. But, pray tell, what benefit is that to the laborers? Is any one so foolish as to contend that labor is better off by increasing the number of exploiters? Laborers, be not deceived. The worst set of exploiters on the face of the earth is the small capitalists, and the smaller their field of operation the larger the profit they must extract from labor. We have been through this stage of industry and have learned from experience that the laborer has nothing to hope from the small capitalist more than the large. We demand the abolition of the whole exploiting system and the turning of all parasites, whether large or small, into useful production. The plea of the middle class for its retention is futile. The force behind economic evolution has otherwise decreed.

The class-conscious laborers, then, are not interested in the preservation of the middle class with its absurd principle of industrial competition. That competition is injurious is evident from the fact that it is being supplanted by the principle of combination. Capitalists have recognized the advantage of production on a large scale. They have found out by experience

that associated capital is the only way to effect economical production. Surely no one with economic sense desires to go back to the era of competitive supremacy. No more absurd and wasteful system could be devised. The principle is absurd in theory and false in fact. It postulates conditions which exist nowhere but in the fertile imagination of its advocates. It assumes that all have an equal opportunity, the proletariat with the millionaire. The theory of free competition under present conditions is a farce. Freedom of competition is simply freedom of the strong to fleece the weak, and the cunning to ensnare the innocent. Who wishes to again reinstate in full power this vicious principle, the very essence of which is antagonism? It necessarily begets cruelty, injustice, cunning, oppression and selfishness. It violates the law of love and sacrifices manhood to material wealth. Its mottoes are: "Each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost;" "In union there is weakness;" "Antagonism is more productive than co-operation;" "A house divided against itself shall stand." It postulates that a country where every man tries to get the better of his fellows will be happier and more successful than a country where each man tries to help his fellows.

No, friends, we do not care to perpetuate the present planless, wasteful system of industry. We propose to substitute the economic principle of combination for the wasteful principle of competition. The principle of combination is sound and ought to be extended to the whole social order. As production and distribution on a large scale are more economic they ought to survive. The only safety to society, however, is in its adoption by the whole people. When the trust, which is an embodiment of the principle of combination, is socialized, then the evils which arise from private ownership will disappear, leaving only the benefits that result from co-operation.

We recognize that the ultimate goal of capitalist evolution is the trustification of every department of production and distribution, so that the greatest possible product may be realized from the least expenditure of economic forces. The difference between a capitalist trust and a public trust lies in the department of distribution, and capacity of the people to consume the product of their labor at cost. The capitalist trust is Socialism in production, but individualism in distribution. We want Socialism in both production and distribution.

The capitalist class, as represented by the Republican party, endeavors to uphold the trust and its private ownership in order to maintain its own supremacy. Senator Hanna has pointed out the inevitableness of the concentration of industry and the advantages which flow from increased production and economy. But such statements are one sided, and endeavor to cover up the pathway of blood, the bitterness and failures that have attended its growth. The middle class, on the other hand, as represented by the Democratic party, chooses to see only the evils, overlooking the great power that concentration brings and the enormous economy effected by unified industry. It remains for the Socialist, untrammelled by the interests of the other classes and parties, to clearly point out both the good and evil of concentration, and show how the evil can be eliminated and the good retained. We note with satisfaction the progress which has gone hand in hand with the development of industry, but we clearly see that we have now reached the point where the system of private ownership of the trust blocks the way to further progress. We see that the only salvation is in pushing the evolution on to its logical consummation—public ownership. We reject the Democratic middle class policy of destroying the trust and so throwing civilization backward. We would preserve it and improve it and open it to all. Socialism, then, welcomes the trust, not as a finality, but as a step toward Socialism, and the quicker the constructive work of these great combines work out their destructive counterpart in failure and crisis, the quicker the final consummation of the industrial evolution will be effected.

The trust is systematizing and unifying industry and preparing the way for the Co-operative Commonwealth. Any industry organized into a trust is eminently ripe for appropriation by the community. It is useless to say that such an enterprise cannot be managed by the state, when it is being managed by a band of capitalists. The board of directors—who usually do not own the capital invested—can as readily be made responsible to the whole people as to the shareholders. The directors in charge at the time can be retained if thought advisable, simply making them responsible to all the people. Socialism is thus seen to be practicable, inevitable, and to rest upon a solid economic foundation.

Now, what are the causes at work that will lead to the consummation? In order

to answer this question, we need to understand the causes that have led to the social revolutions in the past. A clear understanding of these causes will reveal the mission of the modern proletariat or working class.

In every age there is a dominant ruling class which shapes and controls the social and industrial organization in its own interests. At first the interests of this class are in accord with the advance of society, but the time comes when their interests are at variance with social progress. The economic development which produces this contrast between the interests of the ruling class and the social interests also develops a class whose interests are contrary to the ruling class and more in accord with the social development. A contest is sure to follow between these conflicting classes, and in the course of time the class more in accord with the changed conditions is bound to triumph. It is simply the new wine breaking the old bottles. When this transformation occurs it may be termed either evolution or revolution. Revolution, however, is but a form of evolution, and is generally the last step in a period of slow growth and preparation.

The final step, whether peaceful or violent, which interchanges the relations between ruling and subject class, is the inauguration of a new stage. This step, however, cannot take place until economic conditions are ripe for it.

Let me illustrate this principle by again appealing to history. In the middle ages the ruling class was the landed nobility. This nobility determined the character of all social institutions. It also determined the character and form of economic servitude. The whole social system rested upon a form of land ownership. This particular form called serfdom attached the laborer to the soil as serfs. But the servitude would have been nearly as great had the laborers not been directly attached to the soil, for land, being the principal factor in production, its ownership would have carried with it the ownership of those who must have access to the land or starve.

(To be continued.)

There's No Place Like Home.

Mid gin-mills and dope-joints
Where'er we may roam,
Be they ever so humble,
They're brighter than home.
'Tis a dark, dismal hive,
Where we swarm like the bees,
That honey of profits
Our landlords may seize.
No charm from the skies
Seems to hallow us there,
When fear of eviction
Turns hope to despair.
O home! 'tis a word
For the wage slave ne'er meant.
What's home to the tenant
Who can't pay the rent?
From village to city,
Where'er he may roam;
For poor, jobless workers,
There's no place like home.
There's a bench in the park
When the weather is warm,
Or a doorway for shelter
In cold or in storm.
There's a bunk in the workhouse
Where the vagrant may go,
But there's no place like home
That he ever can know.
The bird has its nest,
And the beast has its lair,
For the down-and-out human
No refuge is there.
No spot on the earth
Can claim for his own,
In all the wide world
He has no place like home.
Grace Eaton Ewing, in "N.Y. Call."

Sunday Observance.

A KNOCK FOR THE PARSONS.

The Chief Secretary (Mr. Black) has replied in the following terms to a letter from Rev. Stephen Taylor, hon. secretary of the Sunday Observance and Social Reform Committee, which was published in "The Daily Telegraph" on Saturday, respecting Mr. Black's attitude regarding Sunday observance laws and trading on that day.

"It appears to me that it would be impossible for you to understand the motives which actuated me in regard to liberating the country districts from the unfair pressure of a law which was not made for us or by us, or to convey to your mind the absurdity of talking about 'a menace to democratic ideals,' in the removal of an obstacle to freedom, placed on the shoulders of the people of this country by those 'monarchs by divine right, Charles I and Charles 2. I, therefore, am not disposed to continue this controversy other than to say that the statements that were made at your conference concerning myself were absolutely untrue in every particular, and that I am somewhat surprised that the gentlemen who profess to preach the doctrine of 'Christ crucified' and to be actuated by Christian motives, should first libel a public man, and then not have the manliness to withdraw their unjust accusations when their falsity is proved to them."

A.S.P. News & Notes.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Objective.—The social ownership with Democratic control of the means of Production Distribution and Exchange.
Headquarters: 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.
LUKE JONES.
General Secretary.

MELBOURNE BRANCH A.S.P.

The meeting held at Yarra Bank, Sunday April 18th, by comrade Jeffries and the writer, was well attended and exceptionally interesting, in that the guardians of capitalist law, morality, and private property, the police, took down the name and some of the utterances of the undersigned, which comprised a criticism of the degenerate physique and mental faculties possessed by the crowned Heads of Europe; who are the figure-heads and ornamental drones of the Capitalist System.

The laws of Biology, like those of most natural sciences, and unlike those of capitalist, man made laws, are no respecters of persons or organisms. For natural laws, in the enactment of penalties for violation, show no lack of stringency, nor do they differentiate in persons or organisms. They will act with the same force upon fleas, kings, and working-stiffs. Their social status and use to Society are not considered. People, whether high or low in the social scale, who for generation after generation intermarry with their blood relatives, must eventually produce a degenerate brumby type of humanity. The Crown Heads of Europe are products of centuries of intermarriage of people of the same blood—kings, kaisers, czars, and all the other gilded parasites, who rule not because of mental or physical ability, but by right of birth and usefulness to Capitalism. The social status of kings, queens, and their families, demand that in order to uphold their caste they must marry one of their own social level. As the rulers of the world are few, their choice of selection is limited. Their economic position as rulers (in name at least) of society stands between them and the improvement of the stamina of their progeny by marriage with members of a lower, more verile, and more useful class than themselves. The laws of natural selection are hampered, and in-breeding with its attendant woes are the result. This danger of blood relatives intermarrying, although recognised by savages including the despised Australian black, and prevented by him by a system of management that prevents sexual promiscuity. The crowned Heads of Europe in their mad attempt to sustain appearance of caste, have forgotten or ignored this common knowledge of the blackfellow. For this neglect nature retaliates and enacts her penalty, which is, that the brain and physique of such exclusive persons as kings and queens are below that of the dustman, navvy or even a policeman. But policemen do not exist to guard science and its teachings, their duty is to guard Capitalism. To-day capitalism calls for human flesh to perpetuate the roll of royal degenerates and cunning warmongers; and to this end the propagation of scientific truths must be stifled by law and order, for the people may awake and abolish the sham of those who would perpetuate it.

Comrade M. Fineburg of the S.L.P., lectured on Socialism and Anarchy, in our hall last Sunday evening. The tangled skein of trickery woven and disseminated amongst the people by the plut press, who would make believe that Anarchy and Socialism are identical in every respect, whereas, apart from their ideals, there is no similarity between them. The many contradictions in the philosophy of Anarchy and the sovereign right of the individual to do as he pleases without restraint was clearly criticised by the speaker whose logic was very clear. We hope that comrade Fineburg will honor us with a lecture of the same calibre in the near future.

The powers that rule in Collingwood have stopped our propaganda meetings. An application in the name of the writer to conduct religious meetings was applied for and granted by the Collingwood Council; after conveying the idea to them (the councillors) that we were desirous of entering the Paradise peddling business. So the slaves of Collingwood will be taught Socialism under a new guise; the same goods and the same quality, under a new label.

The literature sales during the week have been good.

H. SPENCER WOOD, Sec.
47, Victoria St., City.

BRISBANE.

G. C. THOMPSON Released.

BRISBANE COMRADES SUCCEED.

Brisbane, Monday.

By Telegraph:—Thompson released on month's probation. McCarthy sponsor.

ERN. FREDLIE.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to become a subscriber.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

The inauguration of Red Week at the Concordia Hall was a gratifying success. The large hall which seats 800, was comfortably filled and the programme was carried out without a hitch.

Meetings in the Domain and streets were also very successful, while in the suburbs vigorous propaganda was carried on by Sydney, Newtown, and Auburn Branches.

Don't forget our Social and Dance on Friday May 7th. The Friday night Dances will be held weekly after this week.

On Sunday night next Mrs. Paul will probably lecture on 'Art and Revolution.'

SYDNEY FIXTURES.

Domain:—

Chair: J. McCormack, Speakers: A. Jenkins, C. Jackson, A. Arthur, J. W. Roche. Market Street, 7 p.m.

Chair: J. McCormack, Speakers: F. Highfield, D. Healy, G. Slade.

Park Street, 7 p.m.

Chair: A. Jenkins, Speakers: Mrs. MacDonald, G. Nelson, C. Jackson.

Campbell-Street, 7 p.m.

Chair: A. Rosenthal, Speakers: Pat. Harford, A. Rees, J. Brown.

NEWTOWN.

Newtown Branch.—Rooms 41 Enmore-Rd., Newtown. Propaganda meetings: Friday evenings, Johnstone-St., Leichhardt. Saturday and Sunday evenings, Newtown Bridge.

PROPAGANDA FIXTURES.

Friday night, Johnstone-St., Leichhardt. Chair: F. Hancock, Speakers: C. Jack-P. O'Connell.

Saturday night: Newtown Bridge. Chair: J. McCormack, Speakers: J. Kilburn, J. Roche, A. Jenkins.

Sunday night: Newtown Bridge. Chair: C. Jackson, Speakers: J. Kilburn, J. Rache.

Ray Everitt, Secy.

THE "INTERNATIONAL" POSTBAG.

Dear Comrade,

You will wonder (and probably say things) at my writing direct to you and not to the Business part of the I.S.: The reason is, that were I to address a letter direct to the International Socialist my services here, as soon as a substitute could be gotten, would be no more required. I cannot afford just now to take the sack—cowardly you think? well perhaps so. But it is a long 'lead' out of here, and a 'tough un.' In other words, work is scarce, water on the track scarcer, and rations practically unobtainable at Stations now that they have us under their thumb.

And what a job we have to stick to! Twenty miles from anyone, see a blackboy once a fortnight with rations; 10, 10, 2 and a quarter, you know; pump water from 5 a.m. until stock is satisfied sometimes 9 p.m., and cook your own tucker of course, at which I was never any good. For this I get, what do you think now? £300 a year? Not quite—I get just £1 per week, i.e., 2s. 10d., per diem, 7 days a week, I have 365 and a quarter working days in my year you know.

Since the 24th, November, when I started, I have had neither Sunday, Xmas, Boxing, New Years, Saint Patrick's, Easter or any other day. God save the Squatter!

I was amused at Andrew Fisher's 'Rising from the Ranks' speech. If ever there was a typical example of rising from the ranks that example is the Right Honorable Andrew Fisher, P.C.

I knew Fisher when he was scratching in Gympie, and I know his friend Keir Hardie and I thoroughly believe if Hardie saw Fisher with his symbols of Conservatism on him, his top hat, frock coat, white waistcoat etc., and driving a Government motor-car to the 'G. G.'s lunch, that he would not shake hands with him. If he would then I have misjudged Hardie as I have misjudged Fisher.

To think that hundreds of us have battled and barracked for such men as he! Some of us have lost good billets because of our stand for Labor—we thought it the 'Premier's Pass' to Socialism.

What a debacle my comrade! What an utter collapse from high ideals isn't it? Yet, thank goodness, it hasn't shaken our faith in Socialism, not one iota.

But I am taking up your time, getting garrulous. Well, can you blame me, stuck out here with only kangaroos, emus, and horses to talk to?

Will you ask the I.S., to change the address on my paper from Sapphire Town to the present one.

I was doing well at gem mining, and was as far as possible in these Capitalistic times, my own Boss. The war ended that of course, there is no sale for gems at all. Now I have three Bosses; Big Boss, Little Boss and Overseer Boss.

Good luck to the Paper and the Cause.

Yours Fraternally,

A. C.

Every new subscriber you get for 'The International Socialist' is a blow struck at Capitalism.

Eugenics.

To the Editor

Sir:—Allow us kindly to protest energetically against such misinterpretations and misrepresentations of "Eugenics" as those endorsed by your paper and organisation in the publication of the absurd conclusions of the Glasgow Socialist "which are but a mere consequence of its vast ignorance of "Eugenics."

Fraternally yours,

Dr. Xarus Sphynx.

Australian representative for the Neo-Malthusian League.

[The energetic protest having been duly lodged. Will Dr. Xarus Sphynx tell us what portions of the article he particularly protests against. It is useless to merely protest.—Ed.]

E. H. HARRIS.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of E. H. Harris, formerly of 7 Rigram Rd., Glebe Road, Sydney, is asked to communicate with the Editor.

Books and Pamphlets on Sale.

Title.	s. d.
The Positive Outcome of Philosophy, also in same volume Letters on Logic and the Nature of Human Brain Work (Dietzgen)	4s.
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring). Contains the most important portions of the larger work from which Socialism, Utopian and Scientific was taken (Engels)	4s.
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals. Shows the origin of mind and the relation of economics to morals (Fitch)	4s.
Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History (Labriola)	4s.
Socialism and Philosophy. In the form of familiar letters (Labriola)	4s.
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Critique of Political Economy. Explains the general theory of surplus value and discusses the currency question (Marx)	4s.
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Looking Forward: A Treatise on the Status Woman and the Origin and Growth of the Family and the State (Rapaport)	4s.
Marxian Economics, a popular introduction to the study of Marx (Untermann)	4s.
Principles of Scientific Socialism, a systematic and attractive statement of Socialist theories (Wails)	4s.
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Ancient Society, the greatest and most revolutionary book on primitive man (Morgan)	6s.
Capital, Vol. I, The Process of Capitalist Production (Marx)	8s.
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Introduction to Socialism. Excellent for beginners, 64 pages (Richardson)	3d.
Unionism and Socialism (Eugene V. Debs)	6d.
Industrial Socialism. Explains why the Socialist Party stands for economic as well as political action (Haywood and Bohm)	6d.
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Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish. (Wilhelm) Liebknecht	6d.
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Evolution, Social and Organic. Lectures showing that Socialism is the logical outcome of modern science (Lewis)	2s.
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Memoirs of Karl Marx. Delightful personal recollections (Liebknecht)	2s.
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Life, Writing and speeches of Eugene V. Debs. A large volume originally published at 8s., containing all of Debs' most important writings, with a life sketch by Stephen M. Reynolds and a preface by Mary C. Marey (Debs). Cloth.	2s.
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Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848. The story of a fight won by wage-workers; then lost by their middle-class allies (Marx)	2s.
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Right to be Lazy and Other Studies, Paul Lafargue	2s.
Ten Blind Leaders, Arthur M. Lewis	2s.
Triumph of Life, T. Wilhelm Boelsche	2s.

AUBURN BRANCH.

The above branch meets every Monday night in the Class Room, School of Arts, Queen-street, at 7.45 p.m.

Propaganda meetings are held every Friday evening at "Bundock," corner Auburn-road and Queen-street, at 8.15 p.m.

Those who desire to join should give their names to the branch Secretary, J. J. KEGG.

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By G. KIRKPATRICK

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DO IT NOW.

Sub Card Competition Winners.

The sub-card competition from January 1st., to March 31st., resulted as follows:—

1st. Ray Everitt 46. 2nd. Chas. Wynter 42. 3rd. C. Hill 32.

Other Comrades also did well and altogether over 160 new subscribers were secured during the three months.

Printed and published by William Robert Winspear, at 115 Goulburn-St., Sydney, for the Sydney Branch of the Australasian Socialist Party.